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PAGE 02 RUFDNSI0550 UNCLAS BT UNCLAS SECTION 001 OF 003

SECTION OO1 OF OO3
SUBJECT: SPECIAL ASSESSMENT - THE WEST GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION

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1. PHASE TWO OF THE RAF'S EVOLUTION WAS INITIALLY MARKED BY INACTIVITY AS THE ORIGINAL LEADERSHIP ELEMENT ATTEMPTED TO CONTROL. THE GANG THROUGH A COMPLEX COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM, OPERATED PRIMARILY THROUGH PRIVILEGED ATTORNEY/CLIENT COMMUNICATIONS. A SEARCH OF RAF PRISONERS' CELLS IN 1973 PROVED THAT THE SYSTEM USED WAS EXTENSIVE

PAGE 03 RUFDNSI0550 UNCLAS AND SOPHISTICATED. THE 1972 DISASTER, WHEN THE ENTIRE LEADERSHIP CADRE WAS ARRESTED. BOTH DIMINISHED THE CAPABILITIES OF THE RAF AND SHIFTED THE FOCUS OF ITS STRATEGY AWAY FROM ATTACKS ON THE STATE'S INFRASTRUCTURE AND TOWARDS ACTIONS DESIGNED TO FREE THE IMPRISONED TERRORIST LEADERSHIP. LITTLE RAF ACTIVITY WAS EXPERIENCED IN 1973 AS THE GANG ATTEMPTED TO RECOUP ITS LOSSES. THE IMPRISONED LEADERS WERE MORE SUCCESSFUL IN TURNING OUT REAMS OF MATERIAL CONCERNING IDEOLOGY, OPERATIONAL TACTICS AND POLITICAL RHETORIC. BAADER, FOR EXAMPLE, DEVELOPED THE CONCEPT OF CONDUCTING REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY AT THREE DISTINCT LEVELS; (1) ILLEGAL, (2) SEMI-LEGAL, AND (3) LEGAL. EACH LEVEL WOULD HAVE A PRECISELY DEFINED ROLE TO PERFORM IN THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS. DESPITE THE EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM, THE LACK OF STRONG LEADERS IN THE UNDERGROUND LIMITED THE INITIATIVE DEMONSTRATED BY THE ORGANIZATION. IN FEB 74 NINE MINOR RAF MEMBERS WERE ARRESTED AS THEY WERE PREPARING FOR A BANK ROBBERY. INCREASES IN RAF ACTIVITY AT THIS TIME CAN BE TRACED TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF RAF ATTORNEYS SIEGFRIED HAAG AND KLAUS CROISSANT IN THE ORGANIZATION'S OPERATIONS. CROISSANT, NO LONGER CONTENT TO SERVE MERELY AS COMMUNICATIONS CONDUITS, BEGAN CONSOLIDATING CONTROL OVER THE COMMANDO ELEMENT.

PAGE 04 RUFDNSI0550 UNCLAS RESULTING IN A MUCH MORE AGGRESIVE RAF. IN MID-1974 A HUNGER STRIKE WAS INITIATED BY RAF PRISONERS TO ELICIT PUBLIC SYMPATHY AND GAIN POLITICAL PRISONER STATUS FOR THOSE IMPRISONED. IN NOV 74, HOLGER MEINS DIED AS A RESULT OF THE HUNGER STRIKE, AMID SPECULATION THAT HIS DEATH WAS THE RESULT OF NEGLIGENCE BY MEDICAL PERSONNEL ON DUTY. PUBLIC SYMPATHY FOR THE PRISONERS HAD BEEN BUILDING DURING THE HUNGER STRIKE AND CRESTED WITH THE DEATH OF MEINS. HOWEVER, ON 10 NOV, GUENTHER VON DRENKMANN, THE RESPECTED PRESIDENT OF THE WEST BERLIN SUPREME COURT, WAS MURDERED WHILE RESISTING A KIDNAPPING ATTEMPT BY THE 2 JUNE MOVEMENT, A SEPARATE BUT ESSENTIALLY PARALLEL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION. VON DRENKMANN WAS KNOWN FOR HIS LIBERAL VIEWS AND HAD BEEN AN OPPONENT OF HITLER AND NATIONAL SOCIALISM. HIS MURDER OFFSET THE GAINS MADE BY THE HUNGER STRIKERS AND HELPED TO FURTHER ISOLATE TERRORIST GROUPS FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF LEFTIST DISSENT. ALSO IN NOV, POLICE CONDUCTED A SERIES OF RAIDS IN WHICH 98 APARTMENTS WERE SEARCHED AND 19 SUSPECTS ARRESTED. INCREASES IN RAF ACTIVITY WERE NOTED IN EARLY 1975 AS OPERATIONS WERE MOUNTED TO FORCE THE RELEASE OF IMPRISONED TERRORISTS. FEB, THE 2 JUNE MOVEMENT KIDNAPPED WEST BERLIN MAYORAL CANDIDATE PETER LORENZ WITH RAF ASSISTANCE. DEMANDS WERE MADE FOR THE RELEASE

PAGE O5 RUFDNSIO550 UNCLAS
OF SIX IMPRISONED TERRORISTS TO INCLUDE RAF FOUNDER HORST MAHLER.
SIGNIFICANTLY, NO DEMANDS FOR THE RELEASE OF BAADER OR MEINHOF WERE
ISSUED. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THEY WERE IN THE PROCESS OF LOSING
CONTROL OVER THE GANG AND THAT A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS WAS
EMERGING THAT HAD LITTLE DESIRE TO EFFECT THE RELEASE OF COMPETITORS
FOR SUPREMACY IN THE TERRORIST MOVEMENT. WEST GERMAN AUTHORITIES

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ACCEDED TO THE DEMANDS AND RELEASED FIVE IMPRISONED TERRORISTS.
MAHLER REFUSED RELEASE, DECIDING INSTEAD TO COMPLETE HIS SENTENCE.
THE RELEASED TERRORISTS WERE FLOWN TO SOUTH YEMEN WHERE THEY MADE
CONTACT WITH PALESTINIAN GROUPS. RELEASED TERRORISTS GABRIELE
KROECHER-TIEDEMAN AND HANS-JOACHIM KLEIN LATER PARTICIPATED IN THE
"CARLOS" LED OPEC OIL MINISTERS KIDNAPPING IN VIENNA. BASED ON THE
WEAKNESS DISPLAYED BY THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT, TERRORISTS BECAME
EMBOLDENED AND IN APR A SECOND OPERATION TO FORCE THE RELEASE OF
IMPRISONED TERRORISTS WAS MOUNTED BY SIX FORMER MEMBERS OF THE
HEIDELBERG BASED SPK. CALLING THEMSELVES THE "COMMANDO HOLGER
MEINS," THEY ATTACKED THE WEST GERMAN EMBASSY IN STOCKHOLM AND
SEIZED 12 HOSTAGES, INCLUDING THE AMBASSADOR, THE MILITARY ATTACHE
AND THE ECONOMIC ATTACHE. THEY THREATENED TO KILL THE HOSTAGES

UNLESS 26 MORE TERRORISTS WERE RELEASED. THIS TIME THE DEMANDS WERE

PAGE 06 RUFDNSI0550 UNCLAS REFUSED CAUSING THE TERRORISTS TO KILL THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ATTACHES TO PRESSURE THE AUTHORITIES TO CAPITULATE. SOON AFTER THE DEADLINE PASSED, TWO EXPLOSIONS WERE INITIATED AND THE TERRORISTS ATTEMPTED TO ESCAPE IN THE CONFUSION. FIVE WERE CAPTURED AND ONE WAS FOUND DEAD IN THE RUINS OF THE BUILDING. THE LEADER, SIEGFRIED HAUSNER, SUBSEQUENTLY DIED OF WOUNDS SUSTAINED DURING THE OPERATION. THE RAF SUFFERED ANOTHER SETBACK IN MAY WHEN POLICE IN COLOGNE INTERRUPTED A CAR THEFT IN-PROGRESS. DURING THE ENSUING GUN BATTLE ONE POLICE OFFICER WAS KILLED AND ANOTHER SEVERELY WOUNDED. ONE RAF TERRORIST, WERNER SAUBER, WAS KILLED AND TWO OTHERS CAPTURED.
4. ON 21 MAY 75 THE TRIAL OF BAADER, MEINHOF, RASPE AND ENSSLIN BEGAN IN A SPECIALLY CONSTRUCTED COURTROOM IN STUTTGART CONNECTED TO STAMMHEIM PRISON BY AN UNDERGROUND PASSAGEWAY. FIVE DAYS EARLIER SIEGFRIED HAAG WENT UNDERGROUND AFTER BEING CHARGED IN THE STOCKHOLM ATTACK. TRIALS OF OTHER MAJOR RAF FIGURES WERE CONDUCTED THAT SAME YEAR, BUT RAF ACTIVITY RETURNED TO A LOW EBB, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A FEW MINOR BOMB ATTACKS PERPETRATED BY A SELF-PROCLAIMED "RAF BATTLE GROUP SOUTH" LED BY FORMER RAF DEFENSE ATTORNEY JOERG LANG AND FOUR BANK ROBBERIES WHICH NETTED THE RAF A TOTAL OF DM 394,320. 5. THE ONLY SIGNIFICANT RAF RELATED EVENT OF 1976 WAS THE 9 MAY

PAGE 07 RUFDNSIO550 UNCLAS SUICIDE OF ULRICKE MEINHOF WHO HANGED HERSELF IN HER PRISON CELL. SHE WAS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN IN A STATE OF DEPRESSION AND ESTRANGED FROM THE OTHER RAF PRISONERS. HER SUICIDE, HOWEVER, SUCCEEDED IN TRIGGERING MASSIVE RADICAL LEFTIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN WEST GERMANY THE ENTIRE YEAR OF 1978, LIKE THE SECOND HALF OF 1975, PROVED TO BE A PERIOD OF RECUPERATION FOR THE RAF FOLLOWING THE DEBACLE OF THE STOCKHOLM ATTACK. MAJOR RAF ACTIVITY WAS LIMITED TO FOUR BANK ROBBERIES, WHICH NETTED DM 271,000 AND 1.2 MILLION AUSTRIAN SCHILLINGS. WEST GERMAN POLICE CONTINUED THEIR OFFENSIVE AGAINST TERRORISM AND SUCCEEDED IN MAKING UNDERGROUND LIVING A HAZARDOUS OCCUPATION. TWO YEARS OF RELATIVE INACTIVITY (APR 75 - APR 77) BY THE RAF DEMONSTRATES THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICE COUNTERMEASURES IN FRUSTRATING RAF ATTEMPTS TO CONDUCT TERRORIST OPERATIONS. SIEGFRIED HAAG, IN CONJUNCTION WITH KLAUS CROISSANT, ASSUMED CONTROL OF THE REMNANTS OF THE RAF WHEN HE RETURNED TO WEST GERMANY IN LATE 1976, AFTER RECEIVING GUERRILLA TRAINING IN SOUTH YEMEN. HAAG WAS IN CHARGE OF OPERATIONS AND PLANNING, WHILE CROISSANT, STILL LIVIN\$ A LEGAL EXISTENCE, WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR RECRUITING AND OTHER PERSONNEL MATTERS. HIS LAW OFFICE IN STUTTGART SERVED AS AN

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PAGE 02 RUFDNSI0545 UNCLAS BT **UNCLAS** SECTION 002 OF 003 SUBJECT: SPECIAL ASSESSMENT - THE WEST GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION EXHILARATION OF THEIR SUPERIORITY OVER THE REPRESENTATIVES OF AUTHORITY. YOUTHFUL IDEALISM, THE EXCITEMENT AND MYSTIQUE OF UNDERGROUND LIVING, AND LIBERAL DOSES OF FREE SEX ALL CONTRIBUTED TO THE POPULARITY OF THE MOVEMENT AND BENEFITED RECRUITING ACTIVITIES. LIKE ANY REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, THE BMG FOUND ITSELF IN NEED OF AN IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY. MEINHOF, BECAUSE OF HER JOURNALISTIC BACKGROUND, BECAME THE PRIMARY POLITICAL IDEOLOGUE AFTER MAHLER'S ARREST. SHE AUTHORED A PUBLICATION, CALLED "ROTE ARMEE FRAKTION: DAS KONZEPT STADTGUERILLA" (RED ARMY FACTION - THE CONCEPT OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA). IT IDENTIFIED A VANGUARD OF ELITE REVOLUTIONARIES (THE BMG) WHO WOULD PREPARE THE WAY FOR A MASS UPRISING THAT WOULD TOTALLY DESTROY OPPRESSIVE AUTHORITY. IT ALSO GAVE AN IDENTITY TO THE MOVEMENT BY NAMING ITSELF - THE RED ARMY FACTION (RAF). WHILE MEINHOF WAS ESTABLISHING THE GROUP'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TACTICAL THEORY ALONG WITH COMMAND AND CONTROL OF THE GROUP WAS ASSUMED BY THE CHARISMATIC BAADER. AFTER

PAGE O3 RUFDNSIO545 UNCLAS
MAHLER'S ARREST, BAADER BECAME THE UNDISPUTED COMMANDER OF THE RAF.
BAADER RELIED HEAVILY ON THE WRITINGS OF MAD AND BRAZILIAN TERRORIST
CARLOS MARIGHELLA (THE PRIMARY PROPONENT OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA
CONCEPT) TO DEVELOP A THREE STAGE MASTER PLAN, BASED ON THE THEORY
OF PROTRACTED STRUGGLE, FOR THE CONDUCT OF THE RAF'S WAR AGAINST

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SOCIETY. IT WAS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT CONDITIONS WERE NOT FAVORABLE FOR AN ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE, SO BAADER DETERMINED THAT THE RAF SHOULD ATTACK "SINGLE WEAK POINTS" IN ORDER TO "DESTROY THE MYTH OF THE OMNIPOTENCE OF THE STATE AND DEMONSTRATE ITS VULNERABILITY". THIS CONSTITUTED THE "DEVELOPMENT" STAGE OF THE MASTER PLAN TO BE FOLLOWED BY "CONSOLIDATION" AND "OFFENSIVE" STAGES. TO SUMMARIZE THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAF, IT CAN BE SAID THAT MAHLER FOUNDED THE OR\$ANIZATION, MEINHOF GAVE IT A POLITICAL IDENTITY AND PROVIDED IDEOLOGICAL GOALS, AND BAADER DEVELOPED THE CRIMINAL TACTICS AND CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP NECESSARY TO PROPEL THE GANG INTO ACTION.

9. 1971 WAS MARKED BY AN EFFORT TO REFINE IDEOLOGY AND TACTICS, WHILE BUILDING UP THE GANG'S INFRASTRUCTURE. RECRUITING PERSONNEL AND THE ACQUISITION OF WEAPONS, FORGED DOCUMENTS, CARS AND MONEY BECAME HIGH PRIORITY TASKS. BANK ROBBERY WAS THE PREFERRED METHOD OF FINANCING, SINCE IT WAS BOTH AN ATTACK ON THE ULTIMATE SYMBOL OF

PAGE 04 RUFDNSI0545 UNCLAS CAPITALISM AND A LUCRATIVE METHOD OF UNDERWRITING AN EXPENSIVE LIFESTYLE. ON 15 JUL THE RAF SUFFERED ITS FIRST CASUALTY WHEN PETRA SCHELM TRIED TO RUN A POLICE ROADBLOCK, FAILED AND WAS KILLED IN THE SUBSEQUENT SHOOTOUT. MANY OTHER GANG MEMBERS WERE CAUGHT THAT YEAR BUT THE LEADERSHIP MANAGED TO ELUDE ITS PURSUERS. MEINHOF CONTINUED TO WRITE POLITICAL TRACTS JUSTIFYING THE CRIMINAL ACTIONS OF THE RAF, ONE OF WHICH BORE THE INNOCUOUS TITLE, "TRAFFIC REGULATIONS AND INFORMATION BROCHURE," BUT WHOSE REAL TITLE WAS "CLOSING THE GAPS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY THEORY BY CREATION OF THE RED ARMY." ON 24 JUN 71 A POLICEMAN WAS SHOT AND WOUNDED WHILE MAKING A ROUTINE TRAFFIC CHECK IN WIESENBACH (NEAR HEIDELBERG). FLED ON FOOT, LEAVING A LARGE QUANTITY OF FORGED DOCUMENTS IN HIS CAR, MANY OF WHICH COULD BE TRACED TO BURGLARIES CONDUCTED BY MEINHOF THE PREVIOUS YEAR. IN ADDITION POLICE WERE ALERTED TO THE ACTIVITIES OF DR. WOLFGANG HUBER, A SLIGHTLY ECCENTRIC PSYCHIATRIST WHO HAD BEEN DISMISSED FROM THE HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY CLINIC BECAUSE OF QUESTIONABLE GROUP THERAPY TECHNIQUES. IN EARLY 1970 HE FORMED APPROXIMATELY 150 PATIENTS INTO A GROUP CALLED THE "SOZIALISTISCHES PATIENTEN KOLLECTIV (SPK)" (SOCIALIST PATIENTS' COLLECTIVE) AND ESTABLISHED A "TREATMENT CENTER" IN HEIDELBERG. THE EMOTIONAL AND

PAGE 05 RUFDNSI0545 UNCLAS MENTAL PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED BY GROUP MEMBERS WERE DETERMINED TO BE A RESULT OF THE "ADVANCED CAPITALISM" OF SOCIETY WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE RADICALLY CHANGED BEFORE MENTAL HEALTH COULD BE RESTORED. THERAPY WAS PRACTICED IN WORKING GROUPS WHICH DISCUSSED TOPICS SUCH AS MARXISM, EDUCATION, RELIGION AND SEXUALITY. A SPECIAL CADRE BEGAN MEETING IN HUBER'S HOME IN LATE 1970 TO PLAN RADICAL ACTIONS DESIGNED TO ASSIST IN THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIETY WHICH WAS DEEMED TO BE THE CAUSE OF SO MUCH MENTAL INSTABILITY. LITERATURE, SUCH AS THE "MINI-MANUAL OF THE URBAN GUERRILLA," WAS DISCUSSED AND PREPARATIONS MADE FOR UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE. THE SPK ALSO BEGAN TO IDENTIFY WITH THE RAF AND EVEN PRODUCED A PAMPHLET, DATED 8 JUL 71, WHICH STATED, "MAHLER, MEINHOF, BAADER ARE OUR LEADERS." THE GROUP MANAGED TO PROCURE WEAPONS, FALSE DOCUMENTS COMMUNICATIONS DEVICES AND EXPLOSIVES IN ADDITION TO REHEARSING LONG RANGE DETONATION AND ARSON ATTACKS. PLANS FOR KIDNAPPINGS AND BANK ROBBERIES WERE MADE IN COOPERATION WITH CRIMINAL ELEMENTS WHOM HUBER CONSIDERED TO BE A "SUPPRESSED MINORITY" IN NEED OF THERAPY. PRESUMABLY THEY WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL RECRUITS SINCE THEY COULD PROVIDE CRIMINAL SKILLS AND EXPERIENCE WHICH THE SPK DESPERATELY NEEDED. ON 21 JUL 71 HUBER, HIS WIFE AND SEVEN GROUP MEMBERS WERE

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PAGE O6 RUFDNSIO545 UNCLAS ARRESTED, BUT SOME OF THE ELITE CADRE ESCAPED. A SEARCH OF HUBER'S APARTMENT UNCOVERED WEAPONS, EXPLOSIVES, COUNTERFEITING AND BURGLAR TOOLS, AND RAF AND OTHER RADICAL LITERATURE. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SPK LIES IN THE FACT THAT IT WAS THE MOST ADVANCED INDEPENDENT GROUP TO ANSWER THE RAF'S CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ADDITIONAL URBAN COMMANDO UNITS. FOLLOWING THE BREAKUP OF THE SPK, MANY FORMER "PATIENTS" JOINED THE RAF AND OTHER TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS. IN 1972 THE RAF PROGRESSED FROM INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT TO TERRORIST OPERATIONS DESIGNED TO SPREAD FEAR AND TERROR IN AN EFFORT TO WEAKEN SOCIETY'S RESISTANCE. THE FAVORED TACTIC WAS THE DELAYED DETONATION OF LARGE EXPLOSIVE DEVICES. U.S. ARMY V CORPS HQ WAS BOMBED ON 11 MAY (ONE DEAD), THE AUGSBURG POLICE HQ AND THE STATE CRIMINAL OFFICE IN MUNICH WERE BOMBED ON 12 MAY, THE FEDERAL PROSECUTOR'S CAR WAS BOMBED ON 15 MAY IN KARLSRUHE, AND USAREUR HQ WAS BOMBED ON 24 MAY (THREE DEAD). THESE ATTACKS TURNED OUT TO BE PREMATURE, ILL-CONSIDERED AND DISASTEROUS FOR THE RAF LEADERSHIP. WITHIN SEVERAL WEEKS OF THE HEIDELBERG BOMBING THE ENTIRE COMMAND ELEMENT OF THE RAF WAS IN POLICE CUSTODY. ON 2 JUN, BAADER, ALONG WITH HOLGER MEINS AND JAN-CARL RASPE, WAS ARRESTED IN FRANKFURT FOLLOWING A GUNBATTLE WITH POLICE, DURING WHICH HE WAS WOUNDED IN

PAGE 07 RUFDNSI0545 UNCLAS THE LEG. ALSO ON 2 JUN AN EXPLOSION RIPPED THROUGH AN RAF COVER APARTMENT IN WEST BERLIN, RESULTING IN THE CONFISCATION OF WEAPONS. EXPLOSIVES AND OTHER EQUIPMENT. GUDRUN ENSSLIN WAS ARRESTED ON 7 JUN IN A FASHIONABLE HAMBURG BOUTIQUE WHEN A SALESGIRL NOTICED A PISTOL PROTRUDING FROM HER COAT. MEINHOF WAS CAPTURED ON 15 JUN IN HANNOVER FOLLOWING A TIP FROM A LEFTIST SYMPATHIZER. ALSO CAUGHT UP IN THE SPREADING POLICE NET WERE A NUMBER OF MINOR GANG MEMBERS, ONE OF WHOM WAS FATALLY SHOT BY POLICE. ENCOURAGED BY POLICE SUCCESSES, GERMAN AUTHORITIES CONFIDENTLY PREDICTED THE DEMISE OF THE RAF AND TURNED THEIR ATTENTION TO ROUNDING UP THE FEW REMAINING FUGITIVES. THE SHATTERED RAF WOULD SURVIVE, HOWEVER, REGENERATE ITSELF AND CONTINUE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ESTABLISHED ORDER. ALTHOUGH 1972 DID NOT MARK THE END OF THE RAF, AS PREDICTED BY THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, IT DID MARK THE END OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE ORGANIZATION'S EVOLUTION. THE RAF'S USE OF EXTREME VIOLENCE, A KEYSTONE OF ITS STRATEGY, WAS A MAJOR STRATEGIC ERROR THAT NOT ONLY SUCCEEDED IN ISOLATING THE GROUP FROM THE MAINSTREAM OF GERMAN SOCIETY, BUT ALSO FROM THE MAJORITY OF LEFTIST RADICALS. THE RAF REACTED BY ISSUING A PAMPHLET DENOUNCING "LIBERALISM" AMONG RADICALS

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PAGE 02 RUFDNSI0546 UNCLAS UNCLAS FINAL SECTION OF 003 SPECIAL ASSESSMENT - THE WEST GERMAN RED ARMY FACTION AND BRANDING THEM AS "TRAITORS TO THE MOVEMENT." THIS ESTRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE SELF-STYLED ELITIST "VANGUARD OF THE REVOLUTION" AND THE GENERAL LEFTIST MOVEMENT ENSURED THAT ALTHOUGH THE RAF WOULD CONTINUE TO INFLICT DAMAGE ON ITS ENEMIES, FROM 1972 IT WOULD NEVER AGAIN THREATEN THE EXISTENCE OF THE SOCIAL ORDER IN WEST GERMANY. 13. THIS IS THE PART I OF A THREE PART ASSESSMENT OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE RED ARMY FACTION. PARTS II AND III WILL COVER THE PERIODS 1973 - 1977 AND 1978 - 1985 RESPECTIVELY. 14. POC IS MR. HAGEN, ETS (370-) 6505/8179 END OF MESSAGE UNCLASSIFIED

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